

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY DACCA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7119

INFO AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 DACCA 2970

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SUBJECT: BAKSAL'S CONSTITUTION

REF: DACCA 2808

SUMMARY. IN BOTH PHILOSOPHY AND STRUCTURE, THE BAKSAL CONSTITUTION (REFTEL) GRANTS CHAIRMAN SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN STRICT CONTROL OVER THE PARTY, AND THROUGH THE PARTY, CONSOLIDATES FURTHER HIS POWER OVER THE GOVERNMENT AND THE SOCIETY OF BANGLADESH. UNDER THIS TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM, THE KEY ELEMENT WILL BE THE 15-MAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, CHOSEN BY THE CHAIRMAN, WHICH POSSESSES WIDE RANGING POWERS TO OVERSEE ALL PARTY BUSINESS AND THE AFFAIRS OF ALL LOWER COMMITTEES INCLUDING PARTY

CELLS IN FACTORY, INDUSTRY, COOPERATIVES, BUSINESS, AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND IN ALL KINDS OF GOVERNMENT AND SEMI-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDING THE MILITARY, PARTY MEMBERSHIP REQUIRES ABSOLUTE OBEDIENCE TO PARTY PROGRAMS AND DIRECTIVES AND LIMITS THE EXPRESSION OF ALL CRITICISM SOLELY TO PARTY MEETINGS. ON PAPER, AT LEAST, THE PARTY IS NOW SUPREME IN BANGLADESH. TO MAKE THAT SUPREMACY A REALITY, SHEIKH MUJIB AND HIS BAKSAL MUST

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OGNOW DISCIPLINE ITS POLITICAL CADRES, PRODUCE A COHERENT IDEOLOGY FOR A PROGRAM OF ACTION, AND REORGANIZE THE STATE MACHINERY TO CARRY OUT ITS DIRECTIVES. SO EXTENSIVE IS THE WORK BEFORE THE PARTY THAT FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE THE BAKSAL CONSTITUTION APPEARS MORE TO BE A PRESCRIPTION FOR PARALYSIS THAN A CATALYST TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. PARTY GOALS. ACCORDING TO THE CONSTITUTION PROMULGATED JUNE 7 BY CHAIRMAN MUJIB, THE PURPOSE OF BAKSAL IS TO "WHOLEHEARTEDLY DEVOTE ITSELF WITH UNFLINCHING DEVOTION, HONESTY, DISCIPLINE AND STEADFASTNESS TO MATERIALIZE THE PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES...OF NATIONALISM, SOCIALISM, SECULARISM, DEMOCRACY, UNITY, AND COHESION OF THE BANGALEE NATION." SPECIFICALLY, THESE GOALS INCLUDE, AMONG OTHER THINGS, ENSURING "BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS," ABOLITION OF COMMUNALISM, SETTING UP "AN EXPLOITATION FREE EQUITABLE SOCIETY THROUGH COMPLETE ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION" "OVERALL RURAL UPLIFT," "DRASTIC REFORM IN AGRICULTURE, "OPPORTUNITY FOR PARTICIPATION BY PEASANTS AND WORKERS IN THE CONTROL OF PRODUCTION," "CREATION OF A STRONG BASIS FOR A SELF-SUFFICIENT AND SELF RELIANT ECONOMY," "CEILING ON PRIVATE PROPERTY," "CHANGE IN THE JUDICIARY," AND "UPROOTING OF CORRUPTION FROM ALL SPHERES OF THE PEOPLE'S LIFE."

2. TO ATTAIN THESE GOALS, THE CONSTITUTION CREATES A TIGHTLY STRUCTURED PARTY RULED FROM THE TOP, NOTWITHSTANDING ITS PROTESTATIONS OF ELECTED LEADERSHIP AT ALL LEVELS AND DECISION-MAKING BY MAJORITY OPINION. BASICALLY, THE CONSTITUTION REQUIRES LOWER ORGANIZATIONS TO BE OBEDIENT TO INSTRUCTIONS FROM ABOVE AND HE SUBMIT REGULAR PROGRESS REPORTS TO ENSURE THAT THEIR DECISIONS HAVE BEEN TAKEN "IN CONFORMITY WITH PARTY AIMS AND PROGRAMS." THE CENTRAL LEADERSHIP IN TURN IS BOUND ONLY TO "GIVE IMPORTANCE TO THE OPINIONS AND DISCUSSIONS" OF LOWER ORGANIZATIONS AND MEMBERS.

3. POWER AT THE TOP. THE KEY PARTY BODY IS THE 15-MAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, ALL TO BE APPOINTED BY CHAIRMAN

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FROM AMONG THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS, WHICH HOLDS THE "HIGHEST EXECUTIVE POWER OF THE PARTY." THE DUTIES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WILL BE WHATEVER THE CHAIRMAN DECIDES, BUT THE CONSTITUTION SPELLS OUT SOME OF THEM: THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

--APPROVES ALL FULL PARTY MEMBERSHIP;

--ASSESSES "DONATIONS" FROM THE FULL MEMBERS;

- APPROVES DISTRICT COMMITTEES;
- DETERMINES SIZE AND STRUCTURE OF ANY PARTY ORGANIZATION ON THE DISTRICT, THANA, REGIONAL, AND UNION LEVEL;
- DETERMINES THE PERCENTAGE OF REPRESENTATION TO THE PARTY COUNCIL;
- SUPERVISES AND COORDINATES ALL PARTY ACTIVITIES; INCLUDING FRONT GROUPS;
- PUBLISHES ALL PARTY NEWSPAPERS AND MATERIALS;
- OVERSEES TRAINING;
- MAINTAINS PARTY FUNDS;
- MAINTAINS PARTY DISCIPLINE AND APPROVES RESIGNATIONS/EXPULSIONS; AND
- DIRECTS PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS.

4. OTHER NATIONAL BODIES. THE TWO OTHER ORGANIZATIONS AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL ARE THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE PARTY COUNCIL, BOTH CREATURES OF THE CHAIRMAN AND THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

A) THE PARTY COUNCIL IS REQUIRED TO MEET TWICE DURING ITS FIVE-YEAR TENURE, OR WHEN SUMMONED BY THE CHAIRMAN. ITS ONLY DUTIES APPEAR TO BE TO TAKE "FINAL DECISIONS" ON THE "BASIC PRINCIPLES, PROGRAMS AND TACTICS" OF THE PARTY, TO AMEND THE PARTY CONSTITUTION, AND TO ELECT TWO-THIRDS OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THE NUCLEUS OF THE PARTY COUNCIL HAS ALREADY BEEN HAND-PICKED BY MUJIB: THE 115 MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE AND CENTRAL COMMITTEES. IN ADDITION, THE COUNCIL WILL INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES OF DISTRICT AND PRIMARY COMMITTEES AND THE FRONT ORGANIZATIONS--THE NUMBER TO BE DETERMINED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE--AND ANOTHER 50 FULL PARTY MEMBERS NOMINATED BY THE CHAIRMAN.

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B) THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS ALREADY BEEN NAMED BY MUJIB, BUT THEORETICALLY HE NOMINATES ONLY ONE THIRD OF ITS MEMBERS; THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE DETERMINES ITS TOTAL MEMBERSHIP. THE STATED POWERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ARE VAGUE; IT IS SUPPOSEDLY "THE MAIN ORGAN OF THE PARTY" BETWEEN SESSIONS OF THE PARTY COUNCIL AND MUST MEET TWICE A YEAR. SPECIFICALLY, ITS DUTIES ARE TO OVERSEE PARTY POLICY AND PROGRAMS, ACT AS A GO-BETWEEN THE CHAIRMAN AND THE PARTY COUNCIL, AND "SUPERVISES THE ACTIVITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT, SEMI-GOVERNMENT, GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED AND PUBLIC UTILITY ORGANIZATIONS."

5. DISTRICTS. THERE HAS BEEN MUCH SPECULATION OVER MUJIB'S PLANS TO REDISTRICT THE COUNTRY AND REVISE THE STRUCTUE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT. THE BAKSAL CONSTITUTION HAS ANTICIPATED THIS ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION AND HAS DESIGNATED THE CURRENT SUBDIVISIONS (ABOUT 60 IN NUMBER) AS "DISTRICTS." THERE WILL BE TWO DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONS: THE DISTRICT COMMITTEE AND THE DISTRICT COUNCIL. BOTH ORGANIZATIONS PARALLEL THE NATIONAL COMMITTEES WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CARRYING OUT PARTY DIRECTIVES AND PROGRAMS. THE DISTRICT COUNCIL IS TO ELECT MEMBERS TO THE PARTY COUNCIL. THANA (POLICE STATION) AND/OR REGIONAL COMMITTEES ARE ALSO PROVIDED
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FOR, BUT THEIR ONLY STATED DUTY IS TO ELECT REPRESENTATIVES TO THE DISTRICT COUNCIL.

6. PARTY CELLS. THE MOST IMPORTANT PARTY UNITS AFTER THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE APPEAR TO BE THE UNION/PRIMARY COMMITTEES. NOT ONLY WILL A PRIMARY COMMITTEE BE FORMED IN EACH OF THE APPROXIMATE 16,000 UNIONS OF BANGLADESH, BUT SUCH COMMITTEES MAY ALSO BE FORMED "JOINTLY OR SEPARATELY WITH ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE PARTY IN FACTORIES, INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS." IN ADDITION, WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE CHAIRMAN, PRIMARY COMMITTEES MAY BE FORMED IN "DIFFERENT GOVERNMENT AND SEMI-GOVERNMENT OFFICES OF INSTITUTIONS, CORPORATIONS, AUTONOMOUS BODIES, AND MILITARY AND CIVILIAN FORCES." EACH PRIMARY COMMITTEE MUST HAVE AT LEAST FIVE FULL PARTY MEMBERS, AND A COMMITTEE MAY HAVE BRANCH UNITS.

PRIMARY COMMITTEES IN GOVERNMENT AGENCIES WILL WORK UNDER THE "DIRECT SUPERVISION" OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

7. THE DUTIES OF PRIMARY COMMITTEEMEN CAN BE CHARACTERIZED AS TOTAL DEVOTION TO THE PARTY IN THOUGHT, WORD, AND DEED. THEY ARE TO "IMPLEMENT INSTRUCTIONS OF...HIGHER COMMITTEES", "CREATE PUBLIC OPINION" IN FAVOR OF PARTY DECISIONS, "DEVOTE THEMSELVES TO WORK FOR THE PEOPLE'S WELFARE", "CIRCULATE AND SELL PARTY LITERATURE", ARRANGE POLITICAL TRAINING, AND "DIRECTLY TAKE PART IN THE PRODUCTIVE AND NATION BUILDING WORK." PRIMARY COMMITTEES IN GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS WILL "HAVE TO PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION SO THAT THE ACTIVE INFLUENCE OF THE COMMITTEE IS REFLECTED IN THE CONDUCT OF WORK AND ADMINISTRATIONS OF THESE INSTITUTIONS IN CONSONANCE WITH THE AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE PARTY." THEY ARE TO ENSURE THAT "HONESTY AND TRUST, LAWFULNESS, SKILL, DISCIPLINE AND ENDEAVOR IN WORK ARE ENCOURAGED AND BUREAUCRATIC ATTITUDE IS ENDED." ANY FAULTS OF THE GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS AND EMPLOYEES ARE TO BE REPORTED TO HIGHER PARTY AUTHORITIES.

8. MEMBERSHIP. THE NEW REQUIREMENTS FOR MEMBERSHIP
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IN BAKSAL ARE AS RIGID AS THE CHAIN OF COMMAND. THE CONSTITUTION PROVIDES FOR TWO TYPES OF MEMBERS: CANDIDATE-MEMBERS AND FULL MEMBERS.

A) CANDIDATE MEMBERS MUST BE 18 YEARS OLD, BE OF GOOD STANDING (E.G., NO CRIMINALS, COLLABORATORS, OR ANTI-SOCIAL ELEMENTS), BE VOUCHERED FOR BY TWO PARTY MEMBERS, AND BE APPROVED BY A PRIMARY COMMITTEE. THE PRIMARY COMMITTEE MUST INDOCTRINATE THE CANDIDATE IN PARTY IDEOLOGY AND MONITOR HIS PERFORMANCE. AFTER A YEAR, THE COMMITTEE CAN RECOMMEND ANOTHER YEAR AS CANDIDATE MEMBER, WITHDRAW THE STATUS, OR RECOMMEND THE CANDIDATE TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR FULL MEMBERSHIP.

B) ONLY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OR THE CHAIRMAN CAN GRANT FULL MEMBERSHIP. AN APPLICANT FOR FULL MEMBERSHIP HAS TO ABIDE BY CERTAIN CONDITIONS AND PLEDGE THAT HE "DOES NOT EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, OPENLY OR SECRETLY MAKE ANY CRITICISM" OF ANY "DECISION, PLAN, OR PROGRAM OF ANY ORGANIZATION OF THE PARTY EXCEPT THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS." MOREOVER, AN APPLICANT FOR FULL MEMBERSHIP CANNOT OWN PROPERTY IN EXCESS OF "ANY CEILING FIXED BY ANY EXISTING LAW" REGULATING PROPERTY HOLDINGS. (NO SUCH LAW NOW EXISTS.) A FULL MEMBER IS ALSO SUBJECT TO "DONATIONS OR COMPUL-

SORY LEVY" OF A FIXED PART OF HIS INCOME AT A RATE IM-
POSED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. IF ANY MEMBER WHO
"DOES NOT WORK CONTINUOUSLY FOR THE PARTY FOR SIX
MONTHS," HIS MEMBERSHIP WILL BE CANCELLED. A MEMBER
IS REQUIRED TO BE ABOVE APPROACH, BE CLOSE TO THE
PEOPLE, AND SUBMIT REPORTS OF THE PEOPLE'S OPINION TO
THE PARTY. MOREOVER, HE MUST "CONSTANTLY TRY TO RAISE
THE STANDARD OF HIS KNOWLEDGE AND CONSCIOUSNESS ABOUT
POLICIES AND SOCIALISM AND WILL STUDY AND PROPAGATE
PARTY ORGANS AND LITERATURE." HE WILL ENGAGE IN "CON-
STRUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS AND SELF CRITICISM."
C) THE ONLY CITIZENS OF GOOD STANDING NOT ELIGIBLE FOR
PARTY MEMBERSHIP ARE EMPLOYEES OR JUDGES OF THE CIVIL
COURTS. THE MEMBERSHIP OF ALL OTHER GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
MUST BE APPROVED BY THE CHAIRMAN.

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9. PARTY DISCIPLINE. THE CONSTITUTION EMPHASIZES THE
DISCIPLINE OF ITS MEMBERS. FOR INSTANCE, MEMBERS MUST
BE "PROMISE BOUND" TO ABIDE BY AIMS AND PROGRAMS OF
BAKSAL, "BUND TO FOLLOW ANY ORDER" OF THE PARTY, "READY
TO WORK IN ANY ORGANIZATION" OF THE PARTY, AND
"READY TO SHOULDER THE RESPONSIBILITY OF IMPLEMENTING THE
DECISIONS OF THE PARTY." THE DECISIONS OF THE PARTY
ARE "MANDATORY ON ALL MEMBERS" AND "PARTY INSTRUCTONS
ARE BINDING ON ALL". THE CHAIRMAN CAN APPOINT A SUB-
COMMITTEE OF EXECUTIVE AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS TO

OVERSEE PARTY DISCIPLINE. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MAY ALSO "CONSTITUTE A CONTROL COMMISSION" TO ENSURE THAT PARTY ACTIVITIES "ARE CONDUCTED IN PROPER, INTEGRATED, DISCIPLINED AND COORDINATED MANNER." THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MAY ALSO ABOLISH ANY LOWER COMMITTEE "FOUND INVOLVED IN A SERIOUS BREACH OF PARTY DISCIPLINE." DISCIPLINARY ACTION CAN BE TAKEN AGAINST "ANY MEMBER... FOUND INVOLVED IN ANY ACTIVITIES REPUGNANT TO THE INTEREST OF THE PARTY." ANY LOWER COMMITTEE MAY ALSO TAKE DISCIPLINARY ACTION OR SUSPEND A MEMBER TEMPORARILY PENDING APPROVAL OR FURTHER ACTION F HIGHER AUTHORITIES.

10. PARTY FINANCES. THE BAKSAL IS TO BE FINANCED BY SUBSCRIPTIONS FROM CANDIDATE MEMBERS (TWO TAKA A YEAR EACH),
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SUBSCRIPTIONS FROM MEMBERS ELECTED TO THE SANGSAD (NO RATE YET SET), FUNDS FROM SALE OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS, DONATIONS OR "HELP GIVEN AT A TIME", AND GOVERNMENT SANCTIONS OR BUDGET ALLOCATIONS. THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF BAKSAL WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR FUNDS AND GOVERNMENT FINANCIAL ADVISERS AND AUDITORS WILL BE APPOINTED TO HELP HIM.

11. COMMENT. THE CONSTITUTION OF BAKSAL IS OBVIOUSLY NOT A BANGALEE INSPIRATION; ITS SIMILARITIES TO THE ORGANIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP REQUIREMENTS OF COMMUNIST PARTIES, FOR INSTANCE, APPEAR TO BE EXTENSIVE. IN THE PHILOSOPHY IT REVEALS, THE STRUCTURE IT CREATES, AND THE REGIMENTATION IT ENABLES, THE BAKSAL CONSTITUTION IS DESIGNED TO PROVIDE FOR STRICT CONTROL OVER THE PARTY, THE GOVERNMENT AND THE SOCIETY OF BANGLADESH BY CHAIRMAN SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN AND A HANDFUL OF PARTY LEADERS ACTING ON HIS BEHALF, WITH DECISIONS TO BE CARRIED OUT BELOW BY A DISCIPLINED CADRE OF POLITICAL LOYALISTS. IN BRIEF, ITS PURPOSE APPEARS TO BE TO ESTABLISH A TOTALITARIAN STATE. THE ABILITY OF BAKSAL TO FULFILL ITS MANDATE, OF COURSE, DEPENDS ON A NUMBER OF FACTORS: AMONG THEM, DEVELOPING A DISCIPLINED CADRE, FORMULATING A COHERENT NATIONAL PHILOSOPHY, AND CREATING A COMPATIBLE BUREAUCRACY.

12. TO CONTROL THE PARTY AND THE STATE EFFECTIVELY, THE BAKSAL SYSTEM WILL HAVE TO BE FIRMLY ESTABLISHED AND ITS CADRES DISCIPLINED. AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL, CONTROL MAY BE EFFECTED IN A RELATIVELY SHORT TIME SINCE IT WILL BE ENTRUSTED TO THE CLOSE SUPERVISION OF HANDPICKED POLITICAL WORKERS AND CIVIL SERVANTS. ELSEWHERE, HOWEVER, THE TASK WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT. THE FOUNDATION FOR THE NATION-WIDE POLITICAL APPARATUS DOES EXIST; BAKSAL

INHERITED FROM THE AWAMI LEAGUE AN EXTENSIVE SYSTEM OF LOCAL POLITICAL COMMITTEES WITH WHOM THE PARTY HAS KEPT IN CLOSE TOUCH. YOUNGER POLITICAL LEADERS SUCH AS THE NEW BAKSAL SECRETARIES ZILLUR RAHMAN, ABDUR RAZZAK, AND SHEIKH MONI HAVE CONCENTRATED ON THIS ORGANIZATIONAL WORK, AND SENIOR POLITICIANS HAVE MADE FREQUENT TRIPS TO THE RURAL AREAS TO PRESERVE TIES AND LOYALTIES.
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THUS THE PROBLEM FOR BAKSAL WILL NOT BE ORGANIZING CADRES; RATHER, IT WILL BE IN DISCIPLINING THEM, IN BREAKING THE OLD HABITS OF INDIVIDUALISM BY WHICH POLITICAL WORKERS OFTEN USED THEIR INFLUENCE FOR PERSONAL ADVANTAGE, AND DIRECTING THEM SOLELY TOWARD CARRYING OUT THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE PARTY HIERARCHY.

13. BUT EVEN IF THE PARTY CAN INSTILL DISCIPLINE, BAKSAL STILL NEEDS TO FORMULATE A PURPOSEFUL PROGRAM FOR THE CADRES TO IMPLEMENT. WE DOUBT THAT SKEIKH MUJIB HAS A COHERENT IDEOLOGY WHICH WILL ENERGIZE THE PARTY STRUCTURE HE HAS ADOPTED. WE FURTHER SUSPECT THAT THIS CLOSELY-CONTROLLED STRUCTURE APPEALS TO HIM PRIMARILY AS A MEANS TO PROTECT HIS POWER AND TO CURB THE EXCESSES OF POLITICAL FOLLOWERS WHICH BROUGHT DISCREDIT TO THE AWAMI LEAGUE. THESE REASONS, HOWEVER, ARE NOT ENOUGH TO MAKE THE SYSTEM MUCH MORE THAN A TOOL OF REPRESSION.

14. THE GOALS STATED IN THE BAKSAL CONSTITUTION ARE AT PRESENT NO MORE THAN SLOGANS AND AWAIT TRANSLATION INTO CONCRETE TERMS, AN EXERCISE FOR WHICH NEITHER MUJIB NOR MOST OF HIS SENIOR POLITICIANS APPEAR TO HAVE EITHER THE INCLINATION OR THE APTITUDE. INTO THIS IDEOLOGICAL VACUUM ARE APT TO STEP THE MORE DEDICATED AND AMBITIOUS MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WHO ASPIRE TO FUTURE POWERS: MEN LIKE MOHIUDDIN AHMED AND SHEIKH MONI, WHOSE RHETORIC, AT LEAST, INDICATES A MARXIST BENT.

15. THE THIRD CRUCIAL TASK IS THE REORGANIZATION OF THE STATE MACHINERY, BOTH TO CARRY OUT PARTY PROGRAMS AND TO MAKE GOVERNMENT COMPATIBLE WITH PARTY CONTROL. MUJIB HAS ANNOUNCED PLANS TO REDISTRIBUTE THE COUNTRY AND REVISE LOCAL SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT. THESE PLANS, HOWEVER, HAVE TAKEN SECOND PLACE TO THE ELABORATE POLITICAL REARRANGEMENTS IN SETTING UP BAKSAL, AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION IS AT LEAST THREE TO FOUR MONTHS IN THE FUTURE. THE RESULTS OF THESE RUMORS AND DELAY HAVE BEEN CONFUSION AND UNCERTAINTY IN THE CIVIL SERVICE, A BUREAUCRATIC HESITANCE TO TAKE ACTION THAT CAN ONLY INCREASE AS PERSONNEL NOW WONDER WHAT WILL BE THE ADDITIONAL IMPACT UPON

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THEM OF BAKSAL'S INSTITUTIONALIZED EMINENCE.

16. HOWEVER MUCH SINCERITY AND THE WILL TO IMPROVE THE GOVERNANCE OF BANGLADESH MAY MOTIVATE MUJIB AND HIS CLOSEST ASSOCIATES, ESTABLISHING THE PARTY APPARATUS, TRAINING THE CADRES, AND REORGANIZING THE GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE TIME. A SYSTEM SUCH AS THE BAKSAL CONSTITUTION SETS FORTH ALSO REQUIRES EXTENSIVE ATTITUDINAL CHANGES THROUGHOUT THE SOCIETY, IF IT IS TO OPERATE EFFECTIVELY. WE DO NOT YET KNOW HOW OR AT WHAT PACE MUJIB INTENDS TO FORCE THESE CHANGES, BUT THE TRANSITION IS NOT APT TO BE A SMOOTH ONE. OVERTURNING THE LONGSTANDING SEPARATION OF POLITICS AND BUREAUCRACY, AND TOTALLY ELIMINATING DISSENT IS BOUND TO BE DISRUPTIVE. HENCE, FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE AT LEAST, THE BAKSAL CONSTITUTION APPEARS TO US TO BE A PRESCRIPTION FOR PARALYSIS RATHER THAN A CATALYST FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.
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